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his job; (c) adoption of a plan for peaceful adjustment of difficulties patterned after the Mackenzie-King Canadian plan; (d) subject labor to the Sherman Anti-trust law, by withdrawing special privileges and exemptions now enjoyed; (e) make labor organizations legally responsible for their acts; (f) general adoption of the open shop policy.

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The Labor Movement; Its Conservative Functions and Social Consequences. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1921. Pp. vii, 259. \$2.)

According to Mr. Tannenbaum, the two chief causes of the labor movement are the insecurity of the worker and his subjection to the machine. Repeated changes in industrial processes have caused insecurity to become the one outstanding fact in the life of every individual. The worker, especially, no longer enjoys stability in regard to his home, his employment, or his skill. Moreover, he is always the servant rather than the master of the machine. Every new mechanical device adds to the weight and controlling power of the machine which is already the center of our economic gravity. Control of the machine means the control of modern industry so labor must have such control before it can gain security. When labor organizations establish standard hours, wages and working conditions, they use the only means at hand for "stabilizing a dynamic world." The more union rules there are, the less will there be of "freedom of competition, of change, of contraction and expansion in the present business world." At present "for the worker all things are transitory" and all labor is routine, mechanical and non-educational. The labor movement is a conservative force which resists sudden, ruthless change, exalts the manhood of the worker above his machine, offers him an outlet for his suppressed emotions, and gives him room for the exercise of creative activity. The labor movement conserves the man. But it will destroy capitalism.

The author believes that the destruction of capitalism is implicit in the growth and development of organized labor. Even the so-called conservative unions, which claim to accept the present system, strike at capitalism every time they lay down new rules and secure their enforcement. In fact, one union is just as radical as another, so far as the ultimate, inevitable goal of all unions is concerned. Mere differences in method are not fundamental. Unionism of any kind is a constant menace to industrial autocracy.

Mr. Tannenbaum insists that the right to vote should not depend upon such characteristics as sex, color, and the possession of property. In the industrial democracy of the future, he suggests the probability

of a labor qualification for suffrage and declares that he sees nothing undesirable in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in a society where classes are abolished and where all persons are productive workers. Parliaments, he believes, will be organized on the basis of industrial representation. Geographical distinctions will no longer be of importance. While there appears to be close connection with the guild socialists on this point, the author severely criticizes the latter for supplementing their proposed industrial parliament with a "national parliament." It is asserted that since all producers are consumers as well, a single congress chosen directly by the various producing groups will be able to care for all interests of the state.

In an industrial democracy there will be no revolutions, because there will be no classes against which revolts can be directed. Revolutions are class affairs. The time-worn plan of a uniform wage for all kinds of labor is suggested as the most desirable system of remunerating labor. It is argued that labor organizations today are constantly tending toward uniform wages for different employments within their several jurisdictions.

The book is written in an interesting style and careful attention has been taken to give it a scientific tone. In the earlier parts it gives promise of affording a well-constructed philosophy of labor organization. In the later chapters, the utopian element comes strongly to the fore, although the author gives us to understand that he merely throws out suggestions and is not sworn to a particular outcome. Very few concrete examples of union policies are stated in illustration of "conservative functions and social consequences," yet it is quite evident that Mr. Tannenbaum has seen unions work at close range.

An unusual feature of the book is a publisher's note in which G. H. P. criticizes some of the policies of union labor which cause public disorder and lessen output, and tactfully suggests that the author explain to the public in another volume how these policies can be justified. In rebuttal, the author assures G. H. P. that the things which cause the latter so much anxiety are merely the chips and refuse which litter the ground while the new temple of industrial democracy is in the process of erection.

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Industrial Government. By JOHN R. COMMONS and others. (New York: Macmillan. 1921. Pp. ix, 425. \$3.00.)

This book is the joint product of a group which spent several months in the study of a wide variety of types of industrial relationships under the leadership of Professor Commons. In the course of